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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their taro and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waiwa*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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Payments

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Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakeyinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakamalienga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakeyinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*makinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uwe*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342]

The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *maavu* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *maavu*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *maavu*, each woman five *maavu*, each child one *maavu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu ipaise*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

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To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1 n. [i.e, to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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341 On each side of the house 23 thatch rafters (*hayo*) of *puapua* wood are lashed to
344 the eave and midway purlins. At the top, each pair of thatch rafters crosses above the
345 ridgepole to support a thatch ridgepole to which each rafter is lashed. At the bottom,
384 the thatch rafters are lashed to a thatch purlin which passes longitudinally on top of the series of rafters.

Each gable end is formed first by three principal end rafters of *mahonoa* wood which are lashed to the end tiebeam. The two outermost end rafters run between the end tiebeam and the two outermost side rafters, being lashed to these about two-thirds of the distance from the lower ends of the side rafters. The middle end rafter runs from the end tiebeam to the main ridgepole and is lashed to it at a point 3 feet from the end of the ridgepole and on the inside of the first two principal end rafters. To the bottom ends of these end rafters is lashed an end eaves purlin. The nine end thatch rafters are lashed at the lower end to an end eaves purlin, and at their upper end to the second side thatch rafters. Thus the gable ends of the house incline obliquely inward so that the main roof projects beyond the gable end for a distance of about 2½ feet.

The lashings of this house are of two kinds. The lashing of thatch rafters to eave and midway purlins and to thatch ridgepole, and of the end thatch rafters to the side thatch rafters is by a continuous cord of three-ply braided sennit, ⅛ inch thick, which takes two transverse turns around the two crossing elements, then makes a single circumferential turn around the transverse turns between the two elements, and passes to the next crossing elements. All other lashing is the typical Pukapukan alternating curves pattern lashing with three-ply braided sennit, ¼ to ¼ inch thick.

The thatching of this house is with coconut roof sheets, the method being that described for the *wale wahoyamoa* house.

The floor is covered with coral gravel which is retained by lengths of timber laid on the ground on the inside of the wall posts.

Principal measurements of this *wale aoau* type watch house are: length, 34 feet; width, 14 feet; height of wall posts from the ground, 4 feet 10 inches; height of eaves from the ground, 3 feet 10 inches; height of ridgepost, 10 feet 2 inches; diameter of ridgepost, 5 to 6 inches; diameter of wall posts, 9 inches; diameter of tiebeams, 6 inches; diameter of principal rafters, 4 inches.

Variations

341 The construction of the sleep house on the outer beach of Uta and that
335 of the model house in Bishop Museum are identical with the basic structure
342 of the watch house first described, except for the following variations:

Sleep house. This house has four ridgeposts, grooved to hold the ridgepole. There are four wall posts on either side of the house, grooved to receive the wall plate. Four tiebeams are placed on these wall plates, their ends flush with the wall plates. Rafters cross above ridgepole to take thatch ridgepole, and are flush at their lower ends with the wall plates. There are no purlins or thatch rafters, roof sheets of coconut being fastened directly to the rafters. Along the windward side and west end of the house, there are subsidiary wall posts, each 2 feet apart, which are lashed at their upper end to the wall plate or end plate. The thatching from the roof or end is continued to the ground on these sides, the coconut roof sheets being applied directly to the subsidiary wall posts to form a permanent wall. At the east end of the house, the end rafters run out at an angle of 60 degrees from the side rafters, and are supported at their lower end by six low end posts, each 20 inches high, and an end wall plate. The east end thatching continues to the ground, and the end thatching is tied directly to the end wall posts. The whole of the south (leeward) side of the house is permanently open. This house is 24 feet long and 10 feet wide; the ridgepost is 6 feet high, and the eaves on the south side are 3 feet from the ground. The house is low, strong, and compact, well

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[342] adapted to withstand the fierce gales from the northwest that strike this exposed beach with full force.

341 Model house combining features from both the *wale waikayamoa* and the *wale atua* 335 types. This house has five wall posts on either side, two wall plates, and six tiebeams, which project beyond the end of the wall plates and support two roof plates. There are four ridgeposts, one on the inside of each of the end tiebeams and one on the outer sides of the third and fourth tiebeams. Eight principal rafters on each side run from the roof plates and cross above the main ridgepole to support a rafter ridgepole (*tau lua*). There are two purlins on either side, an eaves purlin and a midway purlin. The midway purlin on one side is narrower than that on the other side. In order to keep the thatch rafters on both sides equidistant from the principal rafters, the narrower purlin is given additional width by chocks (*seinei*) inserted between purlin and rafters. Thatch rafters run on the outside of the purlins. At the top, they support on the under side a third ridgepole (or a thatch rafter ridgepole), *tautolu*, which is separated from the rafter ridgepole by chocks (*seinei*) but is lashed to the thatch rafters. On top of the crossed thatch rafters is laid a fourth ridgepole (or thatch ridgepole), *niu momoli* (fig.11,*b*). At the bottom, the thatch rafters support a thatch eaves purlin.

At each gable end, end wall plates (or additional tiebeams) are lashed at each end to the ends of the side wall plates. The principal end rafters are fastened at the top to the second side rafters, all save the center end rafter which is fastened to the main ridgepole between the second and third side rafters. At their lower ends, the end rafters are lashed to the end wall plate, but project downward and beyond this to support an end eaves purlin, which is itself fastened at each end to the side eaves purlins. The end wall plates are braced by two struts (*yoka*) which are lashed to the two outer tiebeams and project far enough to be lashed to the end wall plates. The end thatch rafters run on the outside of the end eaves purlins to the first rafter on either side. On the bottom outside of the end thatch rafters is lashed a thatch rafter eaves purlin, which is itself joined at each end to the side thatch rafter eaves purlins. The ridgepole is further strengthened by two diagonal braces (*yoka*), each brace running from the middle of the third tiebeam (counting from each end) to the main ridgepole, and lashed to both tiebeam and ridgepole.

341 The lashings of this house conform to Pukapukan pattern. The central principal
335 rafters and the diagonal braces, which both lie against the main ridgepole obliquely,
are lashed to the ridgepole by four transverse turns which are themselves tightened by
284 three circumferential turns (*yinu waikapoka*). The first and second ridgepoles and again the third and fourth ridgepoles are braced against each other by five transverse turns of sennit which are made taut by three or four circumferential turns, thus forming a suspended loop lashing (*yinu waikamou*; fig.10,*b*).

341 The variations in this model *wale atua* type house bring it close in type to the
335 *waikayamoa* house, the only distinction being the use of ridgeposts in the model and the heavier construction of the roof framework. It was suggested by informants that the reason for projecting the tiebeams beyond the level of the wall plates, and then adding —of necessity—roof plates to support the principal rafters, is to protect wall posts of pandanus from exposure to the weather. By projecting the tiebeams a sufficient distance (from 12 to 18 inches), low eaves would give ample protection to the wall posts, especially if thin poles are run between the ends of the tiebeams and the ground to support wall sheets. If these poles rot, they can be replaced easily, but it is difficult to replace main wall posts without pulling down and rebuilding the roof framework.

House Furnishings

352 Furnishings of the Pukapukan house are of the simplest kind. People
513 sleep on coconut leaf and pandanus sleeping mats laid on the coral pebble floor or on wooden platforms. When not in use, mats are rolled (*tapulu*)